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I am 45 years old and my eldest brother is 53 years old. I have two younger brothers. When my father died, we four sons inherited the property of our father jointly. I told my older brother to divide the land the way in which he wanted . . . My father had divided his land into four parts before he died. Each part was a separate "farm" so that a son could raise barley or olives, as he liked . . . But my brother told me to make the decision. As it turned out, my youngest brother was the first to make his choice of the four parts. He took his land but we still kept all of our sheep together. One year later, my older brother took his share of the land, but Jabril (the next to the youngest brother) and I remained together, and still remain together. Some men want to be on their own and others do not. Our eldest brother was the first to separate his animals from the collective herd . . . When the decisions were made to divide the land between us, we got the local "holy man" to go around the area with us and to witness the boundaries. This is done so that later if a brother changes his mind, or wants to take different land, the true borders will be known. We recorded them on paper and the "holy man" knows them . . . In matters of inheritance, all sons get equal shares, but in a case where there are ten camels and three sons, then, each gets three camels and the tenth goes to the eldest brother.

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Any property which a female may own, if it is land or livestock, will go to her sons upon her death. In al-Qasr, [431] such property will usually be sheep which a woman may accumulate through gift-giving. In one case, which is unique in al-Qasr, a woman received thirteen camels from her husband [583] at the time of her wedding. (This was not the brideprice, for that goes to the bride's father.) At the time of her death her camels numbered seventy, and they were divided equally among her five sons. Concerning lesser items, such as clothing and jewelry, and also chickens, these are

593 In al-Qasr it is a rare sight to see a father and his young son together, and it is only slightly more common to see the father with the grown son. The second case may simply be a reflection of the division of labor since the son, once grown, takes over the economic tasks of his father.

593 867 584 872 The most important duties of a father toward his son are three: he must teach him generosity, courage and courtesy; he must see that the boy learns the Quran; and he must arrange a good marriage for his son. According to 593 852 [872] [583] Peters (1960:34), the Cyrenaican Bedouin father must attend to three things for his son, namely: his circumcision, his education in the Quran, and his bridewealth when he marries. [177] In al-Qasr, the Egyptian school teachers have succeeded in showing the Bedouin that circumcision is a private family 593 852 178 affair and not a public ritual. Although all fathers still see to it that their sons are circumcised, the father is no longer responsible for "making a circumcision party." In [626] [431] fact, the father who does insist on following the old ways by hiring a dancer and publicly marking his son's rite de passage, will be ridiculed as one "who only wants to make money from the ritual gift (naquut) given the boy."

593 The son recognizes the rights which the father has over him through a show of respect and obedience. A boy shows deference toward his father by not smoking, singing, or reciting poetry of any kind in his presence. During the

593 was with his brother and not his brother's sons. When the father persisted with his intention to embarrass his nephews, his sons, as a last alternative, threatened to leave him. In the face of this threat, the father capitulated.

The rights and duties of the father-son relationship, although they do not change in sentiment, will change in content during the lifetime of the father. The main change [421] in content will be a reflection of a change in property re- 593 lations. The Bedouin believe that this is the way it ought 597 to be; they say that

> A son must respect and obey his father. The son must do anything that he can to help and please his father. When the son grows up and begins to earn money, he must contribute generously to his father. A son pleases his father by giving him money and helping him to be comfortable.

593 In boyhood and manhood, the father has disposal over his son's 596 labor. As long as a son lives in his father's naja' this is [464] so. One son, who worked for an American oil company in the desert, regularly turned over his pay check to his father. It is the father who decides where the son will live, and, whether or not he will have his own domicile away from the main naja'. When the son marries and brings his wife to the [591] naja', he will usually set up his tent next to his father's tent. The tent is given to the boy by his father. During 593 the son's growing-up period, he will be given, as gifts on •431 various occasions, a sheep or a number of sheep which will be kept with the father's flock.

593 not considered bad for a man to beat his wife." In the case
593 of ill-treatment by the husband, her father may take the
*613 matter to the corporate head. Traditionally, the corporate
[792] head would order the husband to move his tent next to the
tend of the "holy man" or some other third party, so that
he would be dissuaded against such behavior. Another reason
[586] for this is so that the girl might have witnesses to support
her petition for divorce should the husband continue to beat
her. I heard of no wife-beating while I was in al-Qasr.

595 The Quran states that a man may lawfully take four
[779] wives, but that if he feels he cannot treat each of them
equally, he should take only one (Sura IV:3 and 129). The
Bedouins are conscientious in practicing this rule, though
595 perhaps not for religious reasons. If a man has more than
593 one wife, he must spend an equal amount of time with each.
Conflict between co-wives is lessened by the fact that a man
will have separate tents, or rooms in the case of a house,
for each wife. A man will not buy a dress or a piece of jewelry
for one wife without buying a copy of it for all other wives.
595 On a trip to the Siwa Oasis, I was accompanied by a man who
593 had three wives and wished to bring them a gift of basketry
114 upon his return. He was successful in buying two baskets
which were similar but could not find a comparable third in
• [431] the oasis market. In dismay, he made a gift of the baskets
to me and returned with no souvenirs at all. One of my in-

585 178 Only one of the three weddings was conducted in the traditional way with three nights of dancing previous to the wedding and a large feast on the wedding day. The Bedouin say that a man can no longer afford to do things the old way. 584 The procedure of the marriage arrangement begins when the boy informs his uncle that he wishes to marry. Then the uncle, [583] the father and other males of the group meet with the father of the prospective bride to arrange the marriage, an important part of which is the establishment of the brideprice (hulwaan or mahr). 584 *613 Before going to see the girl's father, the boy's father consults with his secondary lineage group, as I have already mentioned. Then he should wait for a period of seven days, for the girl's father, "who has heard about the marriage," must consult with his group and wait for a period of one week during which time any member of the girl's 584 lineage may claim her. After this time, the ties proposed [695] by the marriage are ritualized by two preliminary acts: the writing of the contract (ma'azuum) between the fathers, and the offering of a lamb by the groom which solemnizes his intentions and the marriage (dabah fi-l-williyya). After • [431] another waiting period of about two weeks, during which time the boy buys gifts of clothing and jewelry and presents them to the girl at her home, the wedding celebration begins. 585 On the day of the wedding, the girl is delivered to the groom's residence. The girl remains in the groom's tent, or

585 [684] probably by pricking himself, and will wipe it on the toga.

About two weeks after the wedding, the bride and groom take a lamb or a goat and go to spend a few days with the bride's parents. The Bedouin say that the relationship between the groom and his in-laws is extremely important. The man should treat his wife's mother and father as if they were his own. "When a man's father-in-law and mother-in-law come to visit him, he must slaughter a lamb for them. He must respect both of them. Remember, this man and woman are the grandparents of his children."

The marriage, then, is only the first step in the ritualization of new group bonds established between the families of the bride and groom. Bonds are subsequently intensified through a process of visitation, gift-exchange and sacrifice. The most important factor linking the two groups is the actual presence of the bride in the midst of her husband's group, for she remains, in terms of the patrilineal principle, a member of her father's lineage. This is made perfectly clear by the fact that she is referred to, never by her name but, by the name of her tribal grouping if she is other than 'Aishaibi. If she is of the 'Aishaibat tribe, she will be referred to as <u>bint</u> of so-and-so. Hence the Bedouins stress the importance of extra-group bonds by referring to the women in their residence group as al-Qinaishiyya or al-Kamailiyya, for instance (-iyya is the Arabic feminine marker).

562 593 554 182 578 in Bedouin society, that is, the role of wife-daughter. The principles of patrilineality and cognation do not work against each other when the girl marries outside her corporate group, nor does her new dual role present a case of role conflict.

562 593 554 182 578 On the contrary, the wife-daughter role functions to bind together two groups which are structurally differentiated by the rule of patrilineality. During time of peace, the wife-daughter acts as a bond-maker by carrying gifts back and forth between the two groups, often bringing some of her younger patrilineal relatives back to her husband's house or tent for short visits. During a time of conflict or war, the Bedouins point out, she is the only person who can cross the battle lines unharmed. She is a match-maker as well as a peace-maker. Often she influences the selection of mates by individuals in both her husband's group and her father's group. The Bedouins say that "after the bint 'amm, a man should marry his bint khal ("mother's brother's daughter") because she is like his bint 'amm." Usually, over a period of a few generations, a given direction in marriage is sustained (see Figure 10), and it is one function of this wife-daughter role to accomplish this important political action.

*613 [431] [628] [574] [726] [584]

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562 593 554 *613 182 The role of wife-daughter, then, may be seen as one important aspect of what Fortes (1953:33) calls, "complementary filiation," the essential mechanism which provides the link between the corporate groups of al-Qasr society and the kin groups of the parent who does not determine descent.

554 It would be considered "wrong" for the members of
571 this group to present themselves at an al-Qasr wedding party,
[577] or the annual celebration held in honor of a local saint of
[585] the area. When I inquired about the conspicuous absence of
[796] some of my chief informants from such gatherings, I was told
[124] that "they will send their gifts," or that "it is not decent
[431] that they come to something such as this." In terms of
554 Bedouin social structure, there are a number of plausible
571 explanations for this "status separation." Fathers should
182 not attend public affairs at which their sons may be "per-
561 forming," i.e., young men should be allowed to play a public
[593] role outside the confines of the father-son authority structure. By virtue of the extension of the father role, and its corresponding authoritarian attitude, every member of the elder age-set commands certain rights and obligations which would prevent the free expression that is the hallmark of Bedouin parties. Conversely, and at the more general level, members of the "status group" who wish to remain members of this circle accept certain restrictions on social
[114] intercourse. At the five different Bedouin "parties" which I attended, there were "elders" present, but none of them could be classified as members of the "status group." Bedouins plainly state that elders should not attend parties, but, on the other hand, they show much more concern and emotion when they say that a member of the "status group" should not "be

619 [173] Such traditions differentiate between these segments which otherwise occupy an equivalent position in the formal system.

This level of segmentation has no particular political significance except that it is at this level that the client tribes of Murabiteen are attached. People in the area differentiate between Awlad Ali proper, who are called the Sa'adi, and the Murabiteen tribes. Murabiteen tribes occupy a special position which tends to complicate the formal analysis of the tribal organization of the Awlad Ali. The Murabiteen are a number of tribes of varying sizes and origin which are attached to the Sa'adi tribes as their vassals or clients. They exhibit the same principles of tribal organization as the Sa'adi tribes except that they have no common origin similar to that of the latter groups.

619 173 The original division of the Murabiteen tribes among the Sa'adi was made in the famous meeting at El-Haqfa in which the division of land was also made and the Awlad Ali law was first enacted. The number of client groups attached to each Sa'adi tribe reflects the relative prestige and power of thatparticular tribe at the time of the meeting. Having a re-
619 173 651 latively large number of client tribes meant, in addition to prestige of the patron tribe, large financial support. Until half a century ago this financial support was in the form of an obligatory tribute or "sadaqa" which the client tribes had to pay. This tribute is no longer
[178] [43] mandatory, but the client groups are still expected to present members of their patron tribes with gifts on occasions such as weddings, funerals
619 or feasts of the tribal saint. Large vassal groups also meant support in fights. Although the client groups did not constitute part of the vengeance group of their Sa'adi, when the Sa'adi tribe fought, their client

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[196] to Qudura and to tell him that Hakim wanted to show his respect. This means in everyday parlance that Hakim was willing to pay him money. Qudura agreed to meet Hakim the following day.

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[594] On the day of the meeting, to which I was invited, Hakim arrived with his son and gifts of three goats, tea and sugar. One of the goats was slaughtered and supper was prepared for the guests. While the guests were eating, Hakim and Qudura disappeared inside one of the tents for more than an hour. When they finally joined the gathering, Hakim announced that he and Qudura were now brothers and that it was his fault that Qudura was angry because he had accused him of being stupid and misunderstanding the content of the message sent to him after the meeting of the Aggary awawil. "I admit," said Hakim, "that I might have meant at one time and probably said it to sheikh Qudura that I wanted him to be the Aqila of bait Asabei'. Now that I have admitted this, Sheikh Qudura should not have any grudges against me or my son." Then Qudura addressed the gathering and said, in a very cold and dry manner, "I am glad that Hakim has come to this senses and admitted his mistake." The gathering lasted for most of the evening, spent mostly in behind-the-scenes meetings involving Hakim, Qudura and different guests. Then as the last guest left, Shei'eb, who had been inside the tent throughtout the evening came out and said that Hakim was a fool and that Qudura had tricked him into admitting publicly that he had lied and that Qudura still refused to take the oath.

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[521] Qudura's stand created a strong reaction which affected almost all the tribal segments in the area. The case overshadowed any other event and was the main topic of discussion. The reaction was mixed, however.

593 cooperation between the wives in household activities difficult. The
595 wives have to have reasonable grounds for their objection to the new
584 bride. But even then, the husband could still marry the woman of his
[431] choice, although in this case he has to bring gifts to the other wives as "nasafa," or making-up present.

584 If the family has no objections to the marriage, the proceedings
593 start. The initial proceedings are undertaken by the women on both sides. The groom's mother or a female relative of his mother's generation or older visits the mother of the prospective bride and tells her of her son's intention to marry the latter's daughter. The bride's mother then discusses the matter with the girl's father who has the
[429] final say in the matter. If the father is dead, then the authority on giving the girl in marriage goes to her brother or closest male kin in the order specified before. The girl has no say in the matter of marriage and cannot refuse to complete the marriage, although after marriage she can resort to a certain practice which helps her to terminate the marriage without the consent of her guardian, as will be seen later in
584 the chapter. From this moment until the conclusion of the marriage
[583] negotiations are done by the men of both families. The first thing to be discussed is the amount of bridewealth, a "mahr." If the two families agree on the marriage, a small ceremony is held. This ceremony is called
[779] "el-fatha" in reference to reading the first "sura" of the Koraan known as el-fatha, or "the beginning." The ceremony includes members of the
[675] two families and very few friends. After the fatha is read, the agreement is achieved. This is considered as an engagement and means that the girl is spoken for and therefore no other man can ask to marry her.

To break the fatha agreement, the father of the prospective bride

582 and although they are not considered wrong or sinful, there is a gen-
779 eral feeling of distaste among the tribal population to such marriages. They usually attribute this distaste to the fact that if the marriage with the first sister did not work out, there is no reason to expect the marriage with the second to be successful.* Although this might account, in part, for the low rate of cousin marriage in the group when present wives of the individuals are taken into consideration, yet, the effect of that practice should not be exaggerated. For although that prohibition might curb the marriage with the cousin who is the sister of a previous wife, it does not restrict the marriage with another cousin who is a cousin, rather than a sister of the first wife.

584 During the period that follows and until the marriage is final,
431 the groom is supposed to bring gifts to the bride. These gifts are usually a wide silver bracelet that is used as an engagement ring. Also gifts of clothes and jewelry are quite customary. Such gifts become the private property of the bride and are to be returned only if the engagement is broken for fault on the part of the bride or any member of her family. In such cases, her father has to return all the gifts his daughter has accepted as well as the expenses that the groom's visitations have cost him.

585 The marriage is affected and finalized by the payment of the bride-
583 wealth. In Islamic law the bridewealth is supposed to be paid to the
779 bride herself as a gift and not to her father, which had been a signifi-
431 cant departure from the pre-Islamic practice where two types of bride-wealth were paid: the sadaqa paid to the father of the bride or her

587 * This does not apply to cases where the first wife dies. In such cases, it is not objectionable to marry her sister, although the incidences of sororate are rare among the population.

585 583 779 43 [178] [171] legal guardian and considered a bride price to compensate the father or the legal guardian of the bride. In earlier times the bride received none of the mahr, although she usually got a sadaq or bridal gift for herself. In Islamic Arabia, the mahr and the sadaq became indistinguishable and were given to the woman and took the form of a legal gift for affecting the marriage. The Koraan no longer contains the concept [178] of the purchase of the wife, and the mahr becomes a compensation which the woman has to claim in all cases. The Koraan demands a bridal gift for a legal marriage: "And give them whom ye have enjoyed their reward as a wedding gift" (Sura, iv. 24), and again, "And give the women their dowries voluntarily" (Sura, iv. 3). According to the Koraan, the mahr [586] remains the property of the wife and remains her own even if the marriage is dissolved by divorce. But although it took the form of a gift, the mahr remained in Islamic law a prerequisite for the legalization of the marriage. It is only upon the giving of the mahr that the marriage is considered valid. No marriage is legal, according to the Islamic law, unless that transfer of the mahr is affected. Mutual consent of the two parties to forfeit the mahr does not change that rule, and the marriage is considered void. According to Muslim jurisprudence, marriage 58 675 184 is a contract ('acd) made betweeen the bridegroom and the bride or her wali or guardian. An essential element in that contract is the mahr. The jurists themselves are not sure about the nature of the mahr. Some regard it as practically a purchase money or as an equivalent ('iwad) for the possession of the woman and the rights over her, so it is like a price paid in a contract of sale; while other jurists see in the mahr a legal symbol, a mark of honor and a proper legal security of property for the woman.

593 providing them with the same kind of food and clothing.* It also in-
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562 cludes dividing his time equally between them, spending one night in each wife's tent. The first wife, being the chief one, has certain privileges: her tent is the guest house, food is brought to her residence, and she is the one to divide it among the other wives, and her house is the place for the husband to stay if he becomes sick and unable to move every night from one tent to another. Other than the exceptions given to the first wife, the husband has to treat all his wives equally.

593 Normally, such cases of mistreatment do not result in divorce un-
(586) less they are persistent. In most cases, if the wife is mistreated, she goes to her father's or brother's house or sends for them to come and
593 take her. For the husband to bring her back to his tent, he must pay
431 her "nasafa." This is a gift given by the husband to his wife as an acknowledgement of guilt and as a form of apology for not giving her fair treatment. In some cases the nasafa is equal to what the husband originally paid as mahr.

581 These are some of the rights that marriage gives both men and women
585 in the tribal society of Awlad Ali. These rights, however, are useless
626 unless they are backed by certain means of enforcing them. The husband's
586 rights are guaranteed by his ability to dissolve the marriage at will.
626 According to Islamic law, a man can divorce his wife by simply pronounc-
593 ing the sentence "I divorce you" in the presence of credible witnesses.
(779) No justification for divorce is demanded from the husband according to
(562) the Koraan. No such privilege is given to the wife. She can obtain a

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* With provision for wives with more children.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

absolutely obligatory and sinful to omit. I very much doubt whether many of the Bedouin know how to pray in the prescribed manner. As I have mentioned earlier, the Bedouin used to give alms to their zawiyas and in doing so they carried out one of the five major duties of a Muslim, but they regarded these alms as charity rather than legal dues. I have never met an ordinary Bedouin who had been to Mecca, or who even contemplated going there. Nevertheless, however lax they may be in other things, all Cyrenaican Bedouin keep the fast of Ramadan, and in this annual fast is summed up for them, more than in anything else, the obligations and privileges of Islam and its unity and strength. Moreover, although they are negligent Muslims themselves they respect piety in others. Brothers of the Sanusiya Order and religious men in general ought to pray regularly. That is their business and it is very necessary for the well-being of the community and worthy of liberal support, but the Bedouin is an unlettered man, a shepherd, and a warrior, and he has his own affairs to see to. Perhaps the Bedouin make up for their shortcomings by their enthusiasm for the *jihad*, holy war against unbelievers. They consider that they have fulfilled their obligation under this head in ample measure by their long and courageous fight, formally declared a holy war by the Caliph of Islam, against the Italians, the French, and the British. A Bedouin once said to me when I remarked how rarely I had seen Bedouin at prayer: '*nasum wa najhad*', '(but) we fast and we wage holy war'.

It must also be said that it would be an error to suppose that Islam had not, long before the time of the Grand Sanusi, strongly affected the character and custom of the Sulaimid Bedouin. This question, which is far from simple, need not be discussed in the present account and it is only necessary to note that the Bedouin assume that their customs are Muslim customs. It would also be a questionable judgement to assert that the Bedouin of Cyrenaica are not religious because they do not pay the same attention to outward ritual as do townspeople and peasants, for piety and holiness, as we have often been admonished, are not the same. The Bedouin certainly have a profound faith in God and trust in the destiny He has prepared for them and this faith and trust enhance that superb dignity

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

*175 *795 794 Taukra zawiya and given in an Italian translation by Judge Colucci.[1] In it the tribal sections of the Baraghtha, Tursh, Dinal, and Shilmani place themselves under obligation, through the signatories to the deed, to pay the zawiya of Taukra alms on flocks and crops, to supply camels to carry supplies to Jaghbub, and to help the zawiya in sowing, building, excavations, and other works. Subject to the penalty of paying double alms they will not, without the permission of the Shaikh of the zawiya, render like services to other zawiyas. They promise also to defend the zawiya and to respect those who live in it, or who are its guests, and agree that those who fail to do so may be punished in body or in estate. Each will be for the zawiya and the zawiya for each. God is greater than any man. Those who are obedient will be recompensed by Him. Peace be to those who follow the right path.

*795 423 The estates of the Sanusiya Order were *waqf* (called in Cyrenaica *habus*), inalienable endowments made in love of God by tribal sections and sometimes by individuals. They belonged to the various lodges to which they were donated, with the Order as a whole as residuary, and not to the family of the Grand Sanusi or to the Shaikhs of the lodges.[2] It was understood that when Bedouin donated tracts of country round a lodge they could continue to pasture and sow on any land not being used by the resident Brothers and to use the wells when there was sufficient water in them. The Shaikh of a zawiya was [793] the legal administrator of its properties. The Head of the Order had no direct say in the administration of the estates, and in all probability only knew roughly of their extent. The revenues of [434] one lodge could not be used for the upkeep of another, but any surplus over the expenses of a lodge were paid into a central pool. The members of the Sanusi family and the teachers and *795 794 administrative officials of the Order lived in the distant oases of Jaghbub and Kufra, which produced little but dates, and had to be supplied from the lodges of the coastal region. Supplies were sent by caravan partly in local produce, such as skins, wool, grain, butter, honey, and meat, and partly in money or [431] imported goods: rice, tea, sugar, and cloth. These gifts were

[1] Op. cit., pp. 434–5.

[2] Fernando Valenzi, 'La Senussia in Cirenaica ed il suo Patrimonio', *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane*, 1932, pp. 432–3.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

sadaqa, freewill gifts, though if a lodge did not send them its Shaikh was reminded of his obligations. The lodges dealt with certain trading houses at Banghazi, giving them import orders against future sales of local produce.

This practice worked well enough during the lifetime of the founder and his sons but, as so often happens in Islamic Orders, later descendants began to demand individual shares in the wealth of the Order. While Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif was its third Head it began to be the custom, a few years before the Italian invasion, to earmark the surplus revenues of particular lodges for particular members of the Sanusi family, and these members became regarded as patrons of the lodges which supplied them and responsible for their supervision. The territories in which the Order was dominant began to fall into spheres of influence controlled by individual members of the family, the allocation of spheres tending to be determined by the maternal kinship of various members with *Ikhwan* families occupying lodges in them. Sayyid Muhammad 'Abid and his brother Sayyid 'Ali al-Khattab had a lien on the *barqa al-baida* and Fazzan, where their maternal relatives the Ashhab family were influential Shaikhs of lodges; Sayyid Safi al-Din on the *barqa al-hamra*, where his maternal kinsmen the Mahajib family were predominant; Sayyid Muhammad Hilal on the Marmarica where his maternal kinsmen of the Sharifian Tursh lineage had considerable influence; and Sayyid Idris and his brother Sayyid al-Rida on the Cyrenaican plateau, where they had maternal ties with the important Bu Saif and Ghumari families. Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif had a lien on Tripolitania, where lived his maternal kinsmen the powerful Fawatir tribe of Zlitin territory.

The endowments of the Order in Cyrenaica ran into thousands of hectares.[1] Several lodges had each more than 1,000 hectares attached to them. The fourteen lodges whose lands were technically registered in 1919 by a mixed Italo-Sanusi commission possessed more than 50,000 hectares. The total lands of the Order may well have been more than 200,000 hectares, or somewhere in the neighbourhood of 500,000 acres. Much of the land was of use only for grazing, but much was valuable agricultural country on the plateau. Wherever there were

[1] An *Ettaro* is 10,000 sq. metres or 2·471 acres.

days on which kin of various sorts should attend the mourning ceremonies, which extend over a period of a week. Allowance is made for those who may be away temporarily, although they are expected to hasten to the mourning camp as quickly as possible. Agnatic kin are expected not only to be present on the appropriate day, but are required to offer gifts consistent with their relationship to the bereaved; agnates of the tertiary segment are expected to offer a sheep, while some cognates ought to bring a goat and others a quantity of sugar and tea. At one funeral in a camp where I was resident, soon after the death occurred, the main concern of its inhabitants was whether or not certain men of their section would attend the mourning rites and bring appropriate gifts with them. These men lived at the time in another camp a few miles away, as they had been doing for several years past. They did not come when they were expected, and when they finally arrived at the end of the week they brought with them gifts of sugar and tea only—gifts which were totally inappropriate for agnates of the group. They were, in fact, now no longer members of it, and my neighbours were able to tell me, 'They have branched off from us. We will never live together again.' The lineage had proliferated and this was the first occasion for showing it.

Wide-spread in Cyrenaica is a cult of saints. The number of saints' tombs varies from tribe to tribe, there being fewer among the camel herders of the semi-desert than among the cow-herding, almost sedentary, folk of the plateau area. Whatever the number, the members of the group that venerates a particular saint make an annual pilgrimage to his tomb, and sometimes more frequent pilgrimages are made. In one area there were two men, accepted by their respective kin groups as leaders, who vied against each other for the leadership of their section. One of them had been a famous warrior during the Italian wars and, after being injured, fled to Egypt where he lived for seventeen years, until he returned to his homeland in 1947. The other had also fought against the Italians, failed to win renown, was a captive for a time, later released, and subsequently appointed leader of his section by the Italian authorities. The first, during his period of exile, had become impoverished. The second during his years of freedom had prospered. As far as their personalities

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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were concerned, there was little doubt who was leader—the name of the former was known throughout the land. Now when the warrior returned from his Egyptian exile, his rival offered him a sheep as a gift. This act was wholly appropriate. Subsequently they continued to compete fiercely, but it soon became clear that the returned warrior was winning the greater support. In the face of this, the rival, in 1948, decided to break with tradition by staying away from the annual pilgrimage to the tomb of the local saint. Instead, he and his followers made their pilgrimage to a different tomb in the vicinity of their camp, and later built a low wall round the tomb, whitewashed it, and made it known that henceforward they would regularly use it for pilgrimages. The two kinship groups of a tertiary section now had their separate saint's tomb. Some months later, the rival decided to move with his small group to an area in which they had not previously resided. It is the custom among the Bedouin when they pitch their tents in a place for the first time, that the people of the neighbourhood should bring them gifts to mark the event. The returned warrior, who had now become a close neighbour of his rival was obliged, like others, to offer the latter a gift; he was also obliged to return the gift of a sheep that he had been given on rejoining his section in 1947. He brought a gift within a few hours of his rival's arrival, but it was a goat.[14] The rival and his followers were furious, and the argument that the warrior was too poor to give more was dismissed summarily. This was the final insult. The donor, in return, had been given less than he had presented. The reciprocity of gift exchanges had not only been arrested, it had been reversed. From then onwards the two groups made no attempt to conceal their hostility and went their separate ways.

Disputes stemming from circumstances such as these are the occasions which mark the proliferation of groups, although in all three cases cited, difficulties over water supplies had preceded the outbreaks of quarrelling.

In this discussion of the ways in which proliferation of segments takes place, the emphasis had been put on the tug of war between the interests of people in their agnatic connexions and

[14] A goat is inferior to a sheep in gift exchanges.

between man and man, although the various cereal dishes which constitute their regular meals are said to have a similar effect.

The son who continues to eat with his father "as he always had been doing," also continues to accept his authority. Indeed he could do little else at this stage, for he lacks the economic means to cut away. Neither at marriage nor after is there any transfer of wealth from father to son. The new tent recently pitched is no more than a dormitory to which the young couple retire at night. During the daytime the son is still to be seen in his father's tent, and, in the male quarters, things appear to be much the same as before. In the female quarters, the only superficial change is the more frequent appearance among the women of one who, before marriage, often sat among them if she had been a close neighbour or a close cousin previously; or of an additional helper if she had come from afar. On the surface things remain "as they always have been," although in fact, a whole set of changes have been initiated.

Rites de passage are few among the Bedouin. A man's progress in life is ceremonially marked by only four events: his birth, circumcision, marriage and burial. His development into manhood is not marked by clearly defined stages. About the age of seven, the henna markings on the front of a boy's shirt for protection from the evil eye are not renewed, the cowrie shell stitched to the front of his cap as a kind of talisman against the evil eye is removed and he is no longer permitted free access to the women's quarters. As he grows older, he will be instructed in goat-herding, and later taught to follow the sheep. In his late teens he will have to undertake the more arduous and responsible task of herding the camels. Coincident with camel-herding, he may be given a gun by his father. Shortly afterwards he must undertake the stringent test of manhood, a journey to a distant oasis for dates. These changes are not marked off by a *rite de passage*. The rites a man undergoes during the course of a lifetime are minimal, and in the sense that they are concerned with only the basic events in a man's life anywhere (save for circumcision, which is a minor celebration anyway), they are irreducible. Moreover, the rituals which exist do not comprehend the same multiplicity of relationships as rituals which occur in many other African societies.[4] It is true that the ceremonies referred to in this chapter by no means include all the Bedouin rituals. It is also true that the events mentioned vary in elaboration, and in the number of symbols present in them, but they are not multiplied or reduced for different people.

In this context it is important to stress that we are here dealing with a lineage society where social differentiation is not built up into differences of rank, where the roles to which a man succeeds are almost wholly captured by his kinship relationships with other men and which are sociologically to be distinguished from the roles a man enters into by acquisition of office,

[4] See, for example, the elaboration of rituals discussed in M. Gluckman (Ed.), *Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations*. Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1962.

her father takes, but in certain critical situations he can be relieved of choice if the interests of the group as a whole are at stake.

Political authority is the preserve of a corporation, and its exercise leads to invasion of a man's authority in the field of domestic relations. This does not mean, however, that discrete areas of authority do not remain with the father. In the tent his authority over his son is so overwhelming as to keep the son in almost complete subordination. The son is referred to as a slave, and in daily life he has to behave as one. He must obey every command, for, were he to rebel, he would find little or no support among his agnates, whatever the extent of the provocation. Retreat from his father is hardly an alternative, since, while his father is alive, he has no animals of his own, and to leave camp would only mean that he would have to move outside his group to seek employment elsewhere as a shepherd. If he did this he would forfeit status, and almost certainly cut himself off from property which would fall to him after his father's death. A man who "denies" his father looses too many privileges for the practice to become widespread.

Caught in this dilemma, a son's predicament is worsened by the fact that he cannot initiate marriage negotiations — to be able to do so requires some animals to offer a girl's father. Through his mother's brother he has the means of bringing pressure to bear on his father, but the latter can resist for years. Finally, a marriage is arranged for him. It is difficult to convey the yearning of young Bedouin for marriage. They discuss it among themselves *ad nauseam*. For the most part their talk is about the sexual aspect of marriage. Premarital sex relations are strictly controlled, and the movements of each young girl are carefully guarded because, if on the day of her marriage the test shows that she is not a virgin, she not only brings disgrace to her family, but the marriage may be revoked and her worth as a bride for another man seriously diminished. Nevertheless premarital relations do occur, if not between youths and maidens to any extent, between young men and married women.

The question still remains: why is marriage the occasion of such ebullient celebration? The formal authority a father exercises over his son changes little on marriage. Economically the son is still harnessed to the father. The latter still shouts his orders at him, and obedience remains unaltered. Any sign of an independent view on a matter is met with a gruff rebuff. If the marriage turns out to be disagreeable to the father, he has the authority — if not always the power — to break it. Marriage does not mean a change in the general mode of behaviour between the two; the legal relations remain unaltered, albeit modified in practice, as the married son matures in age. But marriage does mean the acquisition of rights and status previously denied a son. Henceforward, he has a domain of his own. This is high drama, indeed, for although every effort is made to give substance to the expressed view that "nothing has happened," for the first time in his life the son has seized publicly, amid the jubilations of his fellows, a status which hitherto was the possession of the father.

6: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1965 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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would be impossible to satisfy all marriage expectations of men within the universe of the minimal tribal section. For this reason alone external links are inevitable and persistent. Also, the small territorial strip such a group claims as a homeland produces an economy which, in this environment, is unstable. Additional security is gained by making connections with other tribal sections, each with its specific ecological character. Men also marry into their client groups. The proportion of these for this camp was 9 per cent of the total. From these links they gain economic advantages, they can claim services and a client-following is politically significant. Finally, 7 per cent of the total[13] are marriages with women of other tribes, which again not only reduces the instability of the economy (in that a large tribal area suffering near-famine conditions has access to areas of markedly different ecology), but also provides political connections for men whose power ambitions have passed the point of leadership limited to their own tribes. In one way or another all these interests are manifest in the small camp and attention is now directed to the latter.

The disposition of people in the camp is represented diagrammatically on the page following.

The nucleus of the camp is Tent A. Its owner (1) was a powerful *Shaikh*, the son of a famous father. His marriage represents a political link with a group of one of the primary sections of his own tribe. His father died only a few years before I recorded my census, and the large amount of moveable property he left had still not been divided among the sons; the owner of the tent, as eldest brother, still controlled the flocks and herds. Most of his time he spent away from the camp engaging in political intrigue. His two younger brothers lived in his tent, but the second (5) would not remain there long because negotiations for his marriage had been started. His father (2) married a parallel cousin; she died and shortly afterwards he took her sister (3) in sororal union. When this occurred an amount of bride-wealth was agreed, but instead of giving any of it to her father, the entire amount was "put in front of her" (that is, the animals were allowed to remain with her husband's flock), and these animals she had marked with her brother's tribal sign to distinguish them from those of her husband. It was widely known that she was going to leave these animals to her husband's second son, for although she could not transfer them to a male outside her husband's corporate group, she could decide who, among his heirs, should inherit.

During my stay in this camp, her brother's son (4) came to it as a temporary resident for a month. Since he was poor, the purpose of his visit was to capture some of his aunt's wealth while she was still alive and the possibility still existed. During his stay he was fed well but did no work. His kinsmen found his company tiresome, so, to cut short his stay, and after consulting her nominated heir (5), she gave him three grown goats. Also when an occasion arose for an animal slaughter, she provided the sheep, and,

[13] The remainder is made up of marriages to the daughters of men incorporated into the lineages.

Cases

621 592 578 [604] [428] [593] Genealogically he was their father's brother, but he was of their same age generation, and behaved as if he was their agnatic equal. Towards his own brother (16), he behaved as if the latter was his uncle, for he was much his junior in age and his uncle had virtually brought him up from boyhood. They had quarrelled bitterly because his brother (16) had given him only a fraction of his inheritance, which he himself, in turn, should have shared with his young full brother (not shown on the diagram) but he did not do so. This youngest brother left (15) for this reason and now resides with (16), his full brother's enemy. Two of the men (14 and 13) of this group of four were the chief herdsmen of the camp, although they were assisted for short periods by (12) and (15), who also helped tend the camels in other ways. Their connection with the group centered on Tent A was a mutual close link to a politically powerful person (not shown on the genealogies) to whom they are deeply loyal and who, while I was among them, was actively opposed to the common political enemy of them all (16), and who in earlier years had challenged the leadership of (2) of Tent A. There is also the fact that they were all linked within a close range of agnation. This linkage included, too, the owner of Tent F (17), not in fact the descendant of the man shown in the diagram — he was the son of a slave wife; his genitor was a slave, but his mother's master reared him, freed him and he is now given as his son in the genealogy. He lives with his wife, of client origin, together with her children from a previous husband, (18), who divorced her, and his own children. Aging, he no longer acted as a regular herdsmen, but relieved other men in the camp, and also spent some time shepherding.

[613] [602]

621 571 The details given of the strands which run through the camp to tie these particular people together are so few that, like the Bedouin plough, they do no more than scratch the surface, but they are sufficient to permit a few general statements. The camp, and particularly the precise disposition of its tents, shows a group of males clustered together to share two of the main economic tasks: shepherding and herding. The physically strong adult males of Tents D and E shoulder the burden of herding all the camels of the camp, and the men of Tents B, A and C shepherd all the sheep, with (17) of Tent F serving both purposes. This number of men allows some to remain in the camp at all times, to free one of them for a journey to the distant market when supplies of sugar and tea are necessary, and to enable one or two men, at short notice, to hurry away on horse or camel to search for lost animals.[14]

621 571 233 462

621 574 231 262 43 [556] **Economic Determinants of the General Structure of the Camp**

It is also clear from these details that, given the disparities in wealth (although all men have some wealth), the diet of most is considerably

[14] There is little point in seeking the lost animals themselves in the first instance. A man travels from camp to camp asking for information, and when he has gathered his clues, he searches a neighbourhood.

6: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) ~~1965~~ MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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ameliorated in its protein content, particularly by the generosity of the occupants of the nucleating Tent A. Not that they are the only ones who ever slaughter their animals for food. Others do so, albeit much less frequently. Whoever kills an animal, everyone present in the camp is given a share, and the men always eat in the tent of the donor, sitting around one bowl. Thus, the surplus that builds up at one point is redistributed among those suffering a shortage, and meat, in a society where the climate and way of life militate against its storage for more than a few days, is more efficiently used. Many other general economic points could be deduced. These general statements could, however, be made of practically any camp, whatever the specific differences.

Affinity and Matrilaterality in the Structure of the Camp

Economic considerations determine the general structure of these small camps, but do not account for the particular people gathered in them. Perhaps one of the most striking features of these camps, which comes out clearly in the one discussed here, is the confined agnatic span which links the males. Lest it be underestimated, I wish to stress the profound significance of this fact. While granting its importance it is equally necessary to stress that the span, potentially, could be considerably reduced; in some camps it is. Many of the closer agnates of the men of this camp are not shown on the genealogy included with the diagram; (7), (15) and (16), for example, all have brothers, (12) has a large number of first paternal cousins and so on. Therefore, this particular cluster of agnates formed for reasons other than agnatic ties. The most direct single thread connecting Tents A, B and C is that which runs through women. Men of many other camps are all linked in this way, directly. Five tents of this camp are connected through a female link to a common ancestress, whose name still defines the group, two ascending generations for one adult male, three from others and four from others. If greater elaboration could have been shown on the genealogy without confusion, additional links through women could have been demonstrated. Affinity and matrilaterality are the prime movers in bringing agnates together as neighbours.

Other Factors Affecting the Structure of the Camp

Other considerations narrow the area in choice of residence. The quest for power where every man entertains hope of achievement where ambitions are not stifled by the rigour of rank and a small amount of wealth provides a basis for a beginning is also a significant factor in considering the composition of camps. The generosity of the people in Tent A was not entirely altruistic. Justly, it had won them repute, but the repute itself was an important aspect of the political power they enjoyed. They also acquired the services of several men to manage their animals, an impossible strain for them alone. And with their shepherds and herdsmen they secured devoted followers. It was hinted in discussing the structure of the camp that changes